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ABSTRACT

A study investigated the attitudes of bilinguals toward each language and toward language mixing (codeswitching), expressions of identity, and how this relates to linguistic behavior. Subjects were 15 undergraduate students of Spanish-English interpreting and translation at an Australian university whose age (19-53), language proficiency, and years of residence in Australia varied. All were of Spanish-speaking background and had tested at a required level of bilingualism but were categorized as low, medium, or high bilingual. Data were gathered in structured interviews. Subjects were told to use either language as they felt most comfortable. Instances of codeswitching were analyzed for syntactic function in the utterance, intra- or intersentential nature, and features preceding and following the instances. Fillers, idiomatic expressions, and tags were coded. Results are reported, with quotations, in the areas of language attitudes, identity problems encountered in association with bilingualism, and patterns in syntactic categories of codeswitching. Results indicate most respondents were prejudiced against codeswitching and consciously avoided it in speech in any context. While they acknowledged a tendency to codeswitch, they also viewed it as a deficiency related to bilingualism. However, the more balanced the level of bilingualism, the more frequent and complicated the codeswitching behavior. Contains 29 references. (MSE)

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Paper presented at the 20th Annual Applied Linguistics Association of Australia Congress "Language & Prejudice", Australian National University, Canberra, ACT.
26-29 September 1995

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1. Introduction

Over 80, 000 people in Australia were born in a Spanish speaking country. Half of these live in the state of New South Wales, mainly in the Fairfield - Liverpool area (Suburbs of Sydney). Overall, approximately half came from Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Spain, and 70% of these people arrived between ten and twenty years ago. Over 90,000 people are said to speak Spanish, which accounts for a small minority of second generation Spanish speakers. (Valverde et al, 1994:87-93)

The Spanish speaking community in Australia is therefore a relatively new one. Most of its members were born overseas and maintain strong links and identities with their countries of origin. Consequently, the Spanish spoken by these people is still comparable to that in Spanish speaking countries, though with traces of inevitable influences from English. Although codeswitching does exist, it is mainly intra and inter sentential rather than morphological, except perhaps in the case of children. A strong factor found in the Spanish of Australia, however, is the number of lexical and to a lesser extent, syntactic transfers from English.

This study has chosen as its sample, a part of the Spanish speaking community that can be regarded as most successful or integrated; a group of people with a certain degree of bilingualism who are University students of Spanish Interpreting. This study aims to examine the attitude of the sample towards each language and towards language mix, their expressions of identity and how this relates to their linguistic behaviour. Therefore, this paper will attempt to integrate the results of a qualitative ethnographic and attitudinal analysis with a very rudimentary quantitative linguistic analysis of codeswitching.

2. Codeswitching

2.1 Definition of codeswitching

There are various definitions of codeswitching. Kachru (1978) (in Gardner-Chloros), makes a distinction between codeswitching, code-mixing and odd mixing. The first category is where 'the change is determined by the function, the situation and the participants', code-mixing is where linguistic units are transferred between codes, and odd mixing covers the instances of language mixing that do not fit the other two.

McClure (1977) and Blom & Gumperz (1972) describe code-mixing as a linguistic behaviour where one code is dominant and elements of the other code are assimilated into the base code. This is different from borrowing, since borrowing is a monolingual practice and mixing is a bilingual intra group behaviour.

McClure & McClure (1975) and Wentz & McClure (1977) use the term codeswitching as the general term to describe the phenomenon. This term covers both code-mixing and code-changing. Code-mixing occurs in sentences that belong to L1, or have L1 as the base language, and within constituent boundaries, and code-changing occurs

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between constituent boundaries and results in sentences that are sequentially L1 and L2. Code-mixing is used because the L2 word or expression is better known than its equivalent in L1, and code-changing is used more for effect, as a stylistic device.

Valdés-Fallis defines codeswitching as " the alternating use of two languages at the word, phrase, clause, or sentence level....In essence, the items introduced by the bilingual are completely unassimilated." (1978:65)

For ease and clarity, this paper will use the term "codeswitching" as the general term, to cover all its different aspects, as defined by Valdés-Fallis (1978).

2.2 Types of codeswitching

Codeswitching has been divided in the following categories: tag-switching, inter-sentential switching and intra-sentential switching. Tag switching involves the insertion of a tag in the language that is not being used as the base. Some examples of tags in English are "you know" "I mean". These can be inserted easily in the speech at the end of a thought, without regard for any grammatical equivalence. For this reason, it is presumed that the person who uses this type of switching need not be a balanced bilingual.

Inter-sentential switching occurs between clause or sentence boundaries, or between turns in an exchange. An example of this from Poplack's study of Puerto Rican bilinguals is "Sometimes I start a sentence in English y termino en español" (..... and I finish in Spanish), where the switch occurs at the conjunction "y" between both clauses. This type requires a higher bilingual proficiency than tag switching. (Romaine,1989)

Intra-sentential switching involves switching within clauses. According to Poplack (1980) this type of codeswitching is practised only by the most proficient bilinguals since it involves a high syntactic risk. Less competent bilinguals would avoid this type of switching to avoid ungrammaticality. This view is clearly opposite to Weinreich's belief of the ideal bilingual as one who "switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc,) but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence." (1953:73)

As will be evidenced in the data of this study, the three types of codeswitching mentioned above may be used by the same person in the course of a conversation.

2.3 Different studies and their results

In all studies of codeswitching, the fundamental questions have been whether codeswitching is a phase in language shift or a result of stable bilingualism. (Gardner-Chloros, 1991); whether it is a sign of deficient bilingualism; whether it is systematic or randomly achieved; whether it is a conscious or a subconscious phenomenon and what motivates it.

Codeswitching is clearly a characteristic of communities who come in contact with two languages, but the shift to the dominant language is not an inevitable consequence of it. (Thomason,1986).

At one stage it was believed that codeswitching was a sign of a poor level of bilingualism. However, recent research has shown the opposite. Poplack and Sankoff (1980) found in their study of Puerto Ricans in New York, that codeswitching is characteristic of fluent bilinguals.

In her study of the codeswitching of Mexican-Americans, Valdés-Fallis found that this group tended to codeswitch only when the base language is Spanish, which coincides

with the results of the study subject of this paper, and that codeswitching is not done randomly, it depends on factors such as setting, participants, topic and function. Other factors that impinge on codeswitching are: personal preference of the speaker, proficiency of both languages; and the language used by the last speaker in an exchange, which will influence the language choice of the next speaker. (1978:68)

The lack of randomness in codeswitching and hence the idea that it is a rule-governed behaviour. is now shared by many linguists. (Fishman, 1979; Timm, 1975; Bautista,1980; Halmari & Smith, 1994; etc), however, the systematic nature of codeswitching has not yet been explained.

In a study conducted by Pfaff (1978) of Spanish-English codeswitching in the United States, it was also found that speakers who codeswitch are competent in the syntactic rules of both languages and hence mesh those rules according to their constraints. This supports Poplack's hypothesis that only competent bilinguals codeswitch at the inter sentential level.

2.4 Motivation for codeswitching

There are different theories as to why people codeswitch. Where the switching is lexical, it is said to be due to the speaker's lack of knowledge of a particular word in the language they are speaking. "Lexical insertion is also found as a result of difficulty in finding the right word"(Gumperz & Hernández-Chavez,1971:321). Pedro Pedraza (1978) also found in his study of Spanish-English codeswitching that there were those who codeswitched due to lack of command in either Spanish or English. Although most linguists agree that lack of knowledge of the word is not the only motivation for lexical codeswitching (Poplack,1980; Gardner-Chloros, 91; Pfaff, 1979; etc), it is also agreed that the speaker's competence in a particular language is a determining factor in the choice of code and codeswitching.

The motivation or reason for codeswitching may also depend on the age the person became a bilingual. A distinction has been made between early childhood bilinguals, "compound bilinguals", who have two terms for every concept they know, one in each language, and those who learned a second language later in life, "co-ordinate bilinguals". The latter would have learned each language in a different context and therefore have different associations for the concepts in each language or not have a complete repertoire in each language (Gardner-Chloros,1991). For co-ordinate bilinguals it may then be a communicative necessity to switch languages if they are to achieve the full impact. Lavandera (1978) reports such a case of Italian background migrants in Argentina, where they switch between "Cocoliche", their own Italian-Spanish dialect and standard Argentinean Spanish to make up for the limited options available in either code. Along these same lines, Gumperz (1970) argues that codeswitching is not a deficiency in bilinguals' speech, but an asset, an extra 'communicative strategy' which is not available to monolinguals.

Haugen (1975 - in Valdés-Fallis) believes codeswitching occurs in bilingual speech as a way of avoiding interference on the part of the speaker.

Sankoff and Poplack (1981) have proposed that there are certain grammatical restrictions to codeswitching. They talk of the "equivalence constraint" where switches can only occur if both languages can combine freely and both grammars can match, and the "free morpheme constraint" where switching cannot occur between two bound morphemes. This last constraint has been discredited by some researchers who have found proof to the contrary. (Scotton, 1987b, Berk-Seligson 1986, Romaine, 1985.)

Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez (1971), in their study of Mexican-American conversation found that some of the motives found for inter sentential codeswitching were quotations, emphasis and topic. They also make the significant point that

codeswitching and code choice serve a specific communicative need of the speakers. (Gumperz & Hernández-Chavez,1971:327).

In a study of Spanish-English codeswitching in Texas by Baker (1980), it was found that there were a number of motivations for switching, including translations and explanations, idioms, repetitions, quotations, lexical gaps, emphasis, least effort principle and fullest expression. (Baker, 1980:13-16. in Gibbons, 1987)

3. The study

3.1 The sample

The sample consisted of fifteen university students of Spanish-English Interpreting and Translation at undergraduate level who varied in age, language proficiency and years of residence in Australia. They are all of Spanish speaking background and they all passed a language proficiency test to enter the course, which guarantees a minimum level of bilingualism. Their level of bilingualism was rated for the purpose of this study as 'low', 'medium' and 'high'. 'Low' referred to those who had a noticeably strong language and a noticeably weak language; 'medium' to those who had a good command of both languages but maintained a foreign accent in their L2; and 'high' referred to the ones who had an equal level of fluency and no foreign accent in either language. 60% were rated as having a 'low' level of bilingualism, 20% a 'medium' level, and 20% a 'high' level. These ratings become pertinent in the discussion of relationship between level of bilingualism and codeswitching frequency.

The ages of the respondents range from 19 to 53, the mean age is 28 and the mode 20-21. Seven of them arrived in Australia as children or were born in Australia (0-9), four arrived during their adolescent years (12-15) and four arrived in their adulthood (18 +).

Except for two respondents, regardless of age of arrival, they have all been in Australia for over ten years. Six of them (43%) have at least completed some primary education in their country of origin, one has completed secondary education in his country of origin, three have completed some years of university in their country of origin and the rest have completed all their education in Australia. They are all currently enrolled in the B.A (Interpreting and Translation) at the University of Western Sydney-Macarthur. 70% of them have visited their country of origin at least once.

4. The methodology

4.1 Data collection

The method of data collection was not ideal and therefore it is envisaged that had the environment been more natural and the interviewer a different person, the respondents would probably have switched more. However, even if the frequency was lower than normal, the ratio between speaker and switch should be reliable, that is, the ones who would normally switch more are still clearly identified in the sample.

The principle reason why the data collection procedure was not favourable was that the respondents, who were all students, were interviewed by one of their lecturers, and therefore a sense of formality was ever present. The lecturer, while not much older than them, and sometimes younger, has had very similar experiences as to migration, language and identity and has a good rapport with the respondents. However, as Valdés-Fallis explains, language choice has much to do with the relationship between the interlocutors. When there is a discrepancy in status, the person in the lower position would tend to use the language that would please the one in the higher position. In the situation of this study, the students may have subconsciously felt that the use of Spanish without any instances of mixing, would please a lecturer in Spanish Interpreting.

A questionnaire was designed with a few basic questions to ensure uniformity in the information provided. The students were told that the purpose of the study was to discover the identity of Spanish speaking students who were undergoing a university course in Spanish. The question about codeswitching was introduced unintentionally in an attempt to trigger switching. At the beginning of each interview they were told that it was important for them to be spontaneous and to speak in the language with which they felt more comfortable. However, because the researcher is familiar with their speech patterns, she knows that they all switch mostly into English when speaking Spanish and very rarely the other way, so the questions were put to them in Spanish which forced them to use Spanish as their base language.

The fact that the interviews were structured was probably another negative factor, since most common instances of codeswitching occur during colloquial conversation. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the sample for this study has very special characteristics that are not shared by the Spanish speaking community in Australia as a whole. These respondents are university students of language and more specifically of Interpreting, which has trained them to keep both languages separate.

The interviewer did not talk much. The questions were designed to elicit much information from them with little prompting. The result was approximately fifteen to thirty minutes of speech from each respondent.

4.2 Data analysis

The two hours of interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed for their analysis. Each instance of switch was coded according to its syntactic function in the utterance, whether it was intra or inter sentential, and the features that preceded and followed those instances. In some instances where the respondent consciously stopped him/herself from switching, the number of hesitations was higher. Fillers, idiomatic expressions and tags were coded accordingly. Transfers from English were also found in these latter cases, although the number was insignificant.

5. Results

5.1 Qualitative

5.1.1 Language attitudes of the respondents

The respondents were asked about their attitude towards language, towards codeswitching and towards the Spanish language and ethnicity. Another question was about their identity, whether they felt they were Australian or the other nationality (Spanish, Argentinean, Uruguayan, etc). A direct relationship, which will be detailed below, was found between their answers to these questions and their linguistic behaviour. The stronger their reported 'Spanish' identity, and the weaker their Spanish language proficiency, the less they mixed English words in their speech when the base language was Spanish. This is corroborated by Gibbons who said in his study of codeswitching in Hong Kong "It is also necessary to repeat that it is the speaker's perceptions of these various factors, (identity, social situation) that influence code choice" (1987:128). Table 1 shows the responses, in percentages, to the questions on identity, on how they felt about themselves for codeswitching, and on their attitude to codeswitching. The last two columns show their codeswitching performance, that is, how often they codeswitched during the interview, and the researcher's assessment of their level of bilingualism.

Identity	Self Concept	Attitude to CS	CS Performance	Bilingualism
Spanish=66.6%	Guilt=53.3%	Negative=60%	Low=60%	Low=40%

Aust.=6.6%	Accept.=26.6%	Nuetral=40%	Medium=20%	Medium=40%
Unsure=26.6%	Indiff.=26.6%	Positive=13.3%	High=20%	High=20%

Table 1

The percentages in Table 1 clearly identify that the majority reported a "Spanish" identity, felt guilty for codeswitchin when they did it, had a negative attitude to codeswitching and a low frequency of it during the interview.

It is important to note at this point, that as students of Interpreting, the respondents have been made aware of the boundaries between languages and the necessity to keep them separate when interpreting. The general assumption would be that the interpreter is the only one who speaks both languages and therefore would have to keep the codes clearly separate. The interpreter is therefore working and switching between the two codes constantly, expressing the same concepts twice, in two languages. This disciplines the brain to switch at the necessary times but to not mix. Australian interpreters not only work in the Australian community but also in international contexts, where code-mixing would be totally inappropriate. Therefore codeswitching of any kind, would be inappropriate in the work of an interpreter, however, this view is extended to any situation, even to informal conversations among bilinguals.

Having consideration for the above, it was not surprising to find that the majority of the respondents looked down on codeswitching and saw it as a deficiency on their part, as a lack of fluency or vocabulary knowledge, especially in Spanish, even when used in informal conversation between bilinguals. They all saw it as a negative aspect of bilingualism to various degrees.

Although some of them did not mix at all, or very little during the interview, they admitted that they often do it when conversing with other bilinguals. However, all except three, said that they do it a lot less now since they have started the course, that the course has made them conscious of the fact that they are doing it. Whereas before they would codeswitch and not realise or even care, now, if they do it, it bothers them, they are conscious of it and they try to avoid it. Although the results of the study show the contrary, the majority believed that they codeswitched mainly because they could not think of the word or did not know the equivalent in Spanish and so it was easier and quicker to say it English. They mostly thought it was due to laziness and so blamed themselves for not being disciplined enough.

It is interesting to note that 93% of the respondents considered themselves to have partly or fully the identity of their country of ethnicity, even those who had been born in Australia, could speak English with a greater proficiency than Spanish and hardly knew the country of their parents. This strong sense of identity was reflected in their language attitude. This attitude can be explained with what Le Page (1978) calls "the act of identity", where people adopt speech markers that represent their aspirations towards and identification with a group to which they do not fully belong, and thus claim to have characteristics of that group which they in fact lack in reality.

Some of the most interesting and insightful responses will be quoted below as a sample of the qualitative findings.

Respondent number one, who arrived in Australia at the age of nine, when asked which was his stronger language answered "Unfortunately English"(translated from Spanish). Throughout the half hour interview he only switched four times and that was when describing the type of codeswitching he would be likely to engage in with his friends, and when using the name of a subject. The rest of the time he spoke solely in Spanish, sometimes with hesitations and sometimes with English transfers, but Spanish all the same. He expressed that it would be easy for him to keep mixing English words into his Spanish, but because he is conscious that Spanish is his weaker language he makes the effort to express himself fully in Spanish, even if it takes him longer and he has to

explain concepts for which he cannot find the vocabulary. He said "...and it's because I think my Spanish should be at the same level as my English that I make an effort to speak it.... to practise it". (translated from Spanish)

With regards to his identity, respondent one feels he is neither one thing nor the other, neither Australian nor Spanish. When he is in Spain he feels Australian and when he is in Australia he feels Spanish. He believes this may be due to a need to be different. When asked about what language he would use when speaking to Spanish speaking friends, he said that if there were two of them they would speak in English but the moment more people entered the room, either Spanish speaking or English speaking, they would switch to Spanish. He explains "... we speak Spanish for the same reason that we belong to a group and those around us aren't interested in what we're saying....it's ridiculous because if I'm alone with a friend in this room we would speak English, but if there are a lot of people we start to speak Spanish, it's subconscious, it could be for two reasons, one as I said before, because amongst 17 million Australians we are Spanish so we must speak Spanish and show that we speak another language and we are different, another reason... that it's automatic, we can't be sure why we switch" (translated from Spanish). It would appear that the codeswitching this respondent is most likely to get involved in is the situational type described by Blom and Gumperz.(1972)

The concept of codeswitching as an identity marker is corroborated by the results of studies conducted by Valdés-Fallis (1978), Timm (1975), Gumperz & Hernández-Chávez (1972), among others.

Respondent two sees it a little differently. Her strong language is Spanish, having arrived in Australia at the age of 34 after completing her tertiary education in Uruguay. Her level of bilingualism was rated as 'medium'. Although her Spanish is stronger than the first respondent's, she codeswitches a lot more. In fact, she is among the ones who do it most frequently. She was born and raised in Uruguay, both of her parents were Lithuanian Jewish parents. When asked about her identity she answered:

"...my Jewish identity, *whatever*, is very strong, and... I feel very much a part of this country.... I like it very much, I respect it, it bothers me sometimes when I hear comments around me 'you're not Australian so I*'m not going to be nice with you*, ... but I like it a lot, I think there are a lot of things that are very similar to the things I see in Israel, *it suits me fine*, people are honest, *it's important to be like that*, if someone doesn't like something, they tell you, uh, however, in Uruguay... it's as if it's *fading away*." (Translated from Spanish - Italics originally in English)

When asked with what language she felt more comfortable, she said:

"In Spanish, although it's funny but, a few years ago I would not mix one word, but now I do a lot, this must mean that I have reached a certain comfortable level of English, that there is fluency in English as well" (Translated from Spanish)

The above quotation is interesting in the sense that the respondent realised that in order to mix there must be a 'comfortable' level of bilingualism, which is supported by many research results such as Poplack's and Pfaff's mentioned above.

When asked if she mixed English words mainly when speaking Spanish she said:

"Oh yes, and it's part of reality and like many aspects of reality I don't like it very much, not because I'm a purist... I see it as a deficiency in me because I can't think of the word straight away to be able to say it, it's laziness, sometimes it's easier, I try to be conscious of it, but I don't always succeed." (Translated from Spanish)

Although she also sees codeswitching as a deficiency, her attitude is slightly different from that of the previous respondent's. She takes it as a fact of being bilingual, and although she does not like it, she does not let it worry her so much. This relaxed attitude could be a result of her confidence in her Spanish language competence, which is clearly higher than the previous respondent's, and her open attitude towards identity.

The next respondent is also one that codeswitches often. However, she is not clear about her identity and her comments resemble those of the first respondent's. She arrived in Australia at the age of six and while English is her dominant language, her Spanish competence is very good and there are no noticeable major deficiencies. Her bilingualism was rated as 'high'. When asked about her identity she said she feels "mixed" (sic), neither one thing nor the other. When in the company of Australians she does not feel Australian but she does not feel Uruguayan in the company of Uruguayans either, mainly because she feels her Spanish is not up to standard. In her words is reflected a sense of guilt for not feeling fully Uruguayan "Maybe if I weren't doing this course I would feel, it's not a very nice thing to say, I would feel more comfortable with the Australian culture than with mine... but I'll never stop being Uruguayan, I'll always be that, *you know it's my little thing*" (Italics originally in English, the rest translated from Spanish)

With regards to codeswitching, she admits she does it often and does not like it. She also sees it as a deficiency in her bilingualism, to the point that her "goal in life" is to be able to hold a whole conversation in Spanish. She said:

"What comes natural is mixing both languages, *that's not good*....there's nothing that's pure, nothing clean we could say, if you're speaking in English you should only speak English, I mean, no, *that's a little bit different*, in the same, in the same, *...in the same speech, you know?* that if you're speaking English you must continue with English and if you're speaking Spanish you must stay with that language....*It just happens,* it's not that I don't know the words because if I think I can find them, but it's having to think." (Italics originally in English, the rest translated from Spanish)

Unlike the first respondent, she realises that she does not always mix because she does not know the word in Spanish, but because the word in English comes to mind more quickly.

The above quote is strikingly similar to one uttered by a Panjabi-English bilingual when asked about his linguistic behaviour:

"I mean I'm guilty as well in the sense that we speak English more and more, and then what happens is that when you speak your own language, you get two or three English words in each sentence...but I think that's wrong, I mean, I myself would like to speak pure Panjabi whenever I speak Panjabi. We keep mixing, I mean unconsciously, subconsciously, we keep doing it, you know, but I wish, you know, that I could speak pure Panjabi." (Romaine, 1989:112)

Respondent three also states that the course has made her aware of her mixing, that before she began studying Interpreting she would mix and neither be conscious of it nor really care, whereas now it has become a problem.

Respondent four does not mix or switch at all during the entire interview. She is one of the teenage arrivals and believes she does not possess a good command of either language. She also states that she used to mix a lot more before beginning the course and that she is aware of it now. When asked if she considered codeswitching a fault she said:

"I really don't know if it's a fault, the fact that my children mix all the time when they speak to me I don't consider a fault, uh, because if you observe the way they mix, it's

correct, I mean, it's not something they're doing completely wrong, I mean they use the exact word, they put it in the right place, you know, if the two languages could be used, mixed, it would be perfect, but now I consider it a fault because to be an interpreter I must learn to keep both languages separate." (translated from Spanish)

The above quotation shows her perception that there are syntactic and morphological rules that her children follow when codeswitching and that is why it is effective and communication does not break down, but she makes the important point that she considers codeswitching a fault when used in the wrong context, in the context of interpreting.

When asked about identity, she said she feels "culturally" Uruguayan but "socially" Australian. This means that she feels more comfortable in the Australian society but still maintains her Uruguayan identity. This significant compromise may explain her ability to evaluate codeswitching in context.

Respondent seven arrived in Australia at the age of two, and her stronger language is English. In fact her English is a lot better than that of respondent one, but her Spanish is not as good. Her level of bilingualism was rated as 'low'. She did not mix at all during the interview. When asked about her identity she answered "I am Argentinean but my citizenship is Australian." She claims to always speak Spanish to Spanish speakers, without ever mixing, except to her high school friends. At school they were forced to speak English because not all were coversant with Spanish. Now, some years later, even though the need to speak English only is no longer there, they still do. This experience, "... when friends from a former period meet and slip back into the language behaviour of that period, is not uncommon."(Gibbons, 1987:134)

Respondent eight is the most interesting of the group for the purpose of this study. It can be argued that she is the most balanced bilingual in the sample. She was born in Argentina of a first generation Anglo-Argentinean mother and a Spanish Argentinean father. She therefore spoke English with her mother, sister and maternal relatives from birth, and Spanish with the rest of her contacts, including her father. She attended a bilingual school in Argentina and at the age of thirteen migrated to Australia with her family, where they followed the same linguistic pattern, except that in Australia English became the language of the society. She speaks both languages fluently and without any trace of a foreign accent. Her level of bilingualism was rated as 'high'. In the interview she was the one who codeswitched the most. It took her approximately ten minutes to relax, during which her speech was solely in Spanish, thus demonstrating her ability to hold a full conversation in that language. After that, she began to mix languages constantly. This aspect will be discussed further under the section on quantitative results.

Regarding identity she answered "I don' t feel Australian at all, I feel really Argentinean, it's as if *I belong*. (Italics originally in English, the rest has been translated.) However, she said that in Argentina, among her mother's family she felt Argentinean but among other Argentineans she felt English. It seems to be a pattern that for most respondents, their identity changes according to the company, and that identity is never shared with the people around them.

When asked about codeswitching she said that it is not conscious. She thinks she does it when some words sound more comfortable in one language, although she cannot be sure. She admits that because she is so used to speaking both languages to people who speak and understand both, she does not make an effort not to mix because she knows the other person will understand either language. This is a clear indication that codeswitching serves a communicative purpose in her case.

Respondent nine arrived in Australia in his late teens and hence his Spanish is slightly more dominant than his English. He switched to English mostly when referring to

institutions, such as "high school" "Intensive Language Centre" which are specific to Australia. His attitude towards language and his identity can partly explain his reason for not switching. He said:

"I've always had like a phobia, I've always been adamant that my English should not surpass my Spanish..."

He admits that his English is more up to date, which worries him a little, and thinks that is the reason why he sometimes mixes English words in his Spanish speech.

With regards to his identity, he feels Spanish and is planning to return to live in Spain at the completion of this course. He admits, however, that the explanation for his identity being so strong is that he is away from Spain, which he believes is something most migrants experience.

Respondent ten is one of the five who arrived in Australia before the age of five, and therefore has English as her native language and Spanish at an elementary level only. Her level of bilingualism was rated as 'low'. She speaks to her friends in English as she feels much more comfortable in that language, but yet, she feels Argentinean. Her friends are mainly South American but they speak English, with a few Spanish words mixed in their speech. However, she spoke Spanish throughout the interview without switching at all.

Respondent eleven arrived in Australia at the age of two from Spain. He is the only one of the young arrivals who states that he now feels more Australian than Spanish, and that this change occurred as a result of his last visit to Spain, where he felt like a foreigner. Nevertheless, he does feel his Spanish "roots", and believes that is why he has many Spanish speaking friends, although they always speak English among themselves. He admits the course has changed his attitude towards language and has made him appreciate Spanish. The course has also made him aware of the way he speaks Spanish and has helped him to stop codeswitching, which he regards as a deficiency. He did not mix at all during the interview.

Respondent twelve was born in Australia of Chilean parents, and unlike respondent eleven, she feels Chilean, even though she has only visited Chile once for three months. She explains:

"It's part of me, *it's the way I've grown up. It's always been bilingual Spanish and English, everything, family and friends.*" (Italics originally in English, the rest translated from Spanish)

The attitude reflected in the above quote explains the reason why, although she wants to improve her Spanish, she does not feel guilty or deficient for codeswitching.

Respondent thirteen has been in Australia for only eight years since the age of twelve. His level of bilingualism was rated as 'medium'. He says he feels strongly Peruvian. He admits to mixing sometimes but only when absolutely necessary, such as when there is a word that does not have a direct equivalent in Spanish. He seems to look down on people who codeswitch:

"It bothers me when people mix and I try to avoid those people, well, not avoid but to keep on my way and I don't tell them anything." (Translated from Spanish)

Respondent fifteen is an adult arrival. She admits she mixes languages, consciously and subconsciously, and that she has done it less frequently since she started the course. She claims to have deficiencies in both languages and feels frustrated for that reason.

5.31.2 Bilingualism as a problem - a conflict between language proficiency and identity

The idea that bilingualism creates problems and a conflict of identities is a common concern for most of the respondents. To some it is more serious than to others. There is the conflict between feeling 'Spanish' whatever the nationality, and not being able to speak Spanish at the level of a native speaker who lives in a Spanish speaking country. Respondent one forces himself to speak Spanish and regrets being able to express himself better in English. Respondent one compares his situation with an Australian friend of his and says:

"...but he hasn't got this conflict of knowing another language, and he hasn't got transfers and all those problems that bilinguals have...bilingualism has its problems and responsibilities, if one of my languages is weaker than the other then I have the responsibility to raise it, to improve it, so the conflict is constant and conscious, and that affects greatly what you consider yourself to be, whether Australian or Spanish" (Translated from Spanish)

Respondent two does not like the fact that she mixes. However, while she does not see it as a conflict she sees it as a reality of living in a country where a language other than her native one is spoken.

Respondent three states:

"If I had one language I would obviously feel more comfortable within that culture, but since I have two languages I don't really feel one thing or the other." (Translated from Spanish)

She also states that maybe if it were not for the course she would feel more Australian than Uruguayan "although it is not a very nice thing to say".

Respondent ten says that the fact that she speaks English better than Spanish causes some conflict in her, she said:

"I have a bit of a conflict because how can I say that I am Argentinean when I speak English better than Spanish." (Translated from Spanish)

It is a common factor for all of them, and possibly due to the nature of the course they are doing, that their ultimate goal is to achieve a 'perfect' level of bilingualism, where they will not need to resort to L2 for words they cannot find in L1. Codeswitching is therefore seen by most of them as a deficiency. A parallel can be found in Gibbons' study about Hong Kong university students' attitude towards codeswitching, where most found it irritating. He describes it as a conflict between antipathy to mix and actual behaviour, where mixing was common. "...while bilinguals had an overt attitude of hostility towards MIX, they also held positive covert attitudes towards it." (Gibbons,1987:105-106)

This attitude goes against the view of codeswitching held by linguists who see it as a systematic process used to achieve communication in bilingual settings and not as a deficiency. Although Weinreich's opinion of the ideal bilingual is no longer current among linguists, such an attitude prevails amongst bilinguals, and in particular the sample used for this study.

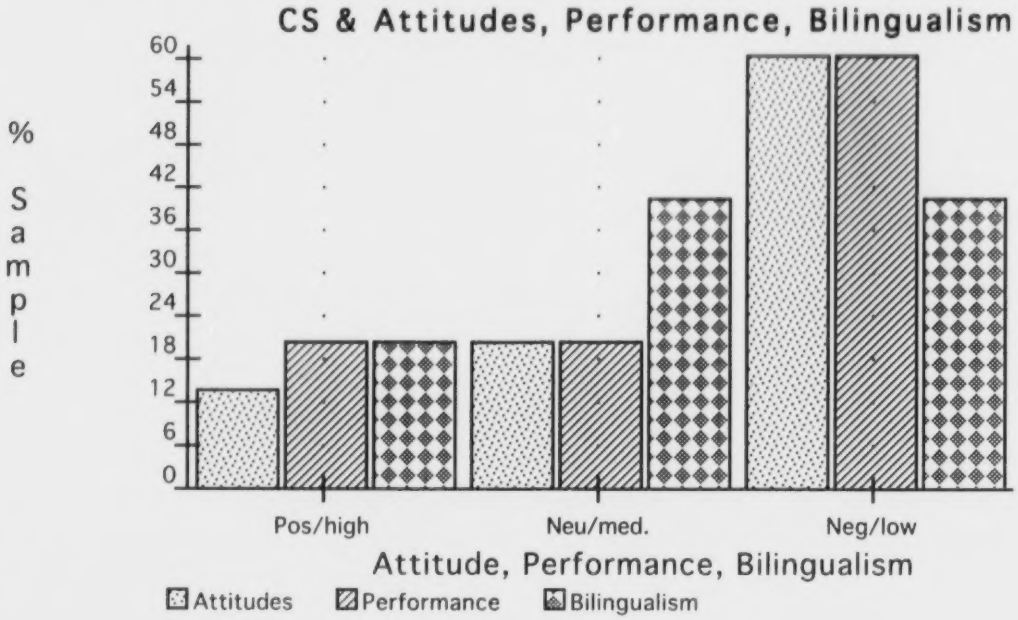
6. Quantitative Results

Perhaps the most significant result found in this study is the little amount of codeswitching performed by this particular sample. It is clear that the main reason for this is their conscious reluctance to do so due to their negative attitude towards codeswitching.

Another interesting result is the fact that the more balanced the level of bilingualism in a person, the more freely and subconsciously they tend to switch. This finding corroborates Poplack's (1980), who stated that balanced bilinguals switched subject to an equivalence constraint, whereas non fluent bilinguals would avoid codeswitching altogether if the switch points were risky.

It was also found that the switching occurs mainly from Spanish into English. This was also found by Baker (1980) in a study of Spanish-English codeswitching in Texas where Spanish tended to be the predominant or "base" language and the switches were into English.

The histogram below (Graph 1), shows graphically the relationship between attitude to codeswitching, level of bilingualism, and codeswitching performance.



Graph 1

6.1 Syntactic categories of the codeswitch

In analysing the data in terms of syntactic categories, it was found that 32.43% of the switches were intra-sentential and constituted independent clauses. This was the highest percentage, which disproves the belief held in common by the respondents themselves that they would codeswitch only at the lexical level, when they did not know or could not think of the proper lexical item in the base language. This finding compares favourably with that of Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez (1971), who found in their study of Mexican-American conversation that "The greater part of the instances of true codeswitching consists of entire sentences inserted into the other language text".

According to Poplack (1980), what characterises skilled codeswitching is the ability to switch smoothly, without hesitation, and an 'unawareness' of the alternation between languages. This is clearly the case with at least the respondents in the sample who have a high level of bilingualism, namely respondents two, three and eight.

Some examples of independent clause switching are the following:

a/ "...que son muy parecidas a las cosas que veo en Israel, it suits me fine, la gente sincera, it's important to be like that."(...that are very similar to the things I see in Israel.....sincere people....)

b/ "...obviamente van a tener que aprender español, they have to, that's it."
(...obviously they'll have to learn Spanish....)

c/ "It just happens, no es que las sepa las palabras..."
(....., it's no that I don't know the words)

d/ "...cosas así, it's none of anybody's business, yo no le pregunto a nadie..." (...things like that,.....I don't ask anybody...)

e/ "no tiene nada de malo pero it doesn't make sense, es un abuso."
(there's nothing wrong with it but....., it's an abuse)

f/ "... it's a really good company, o sea, es una rama de la que está en Estados Unidos, ¿no? and she's she's got a really good position, dice cualquier cosa yo te encuentro algo acá..." (....., I mean, it's a branch of the one that's in the United States, right?....., she says I could find you something here...)

The above examples show that the codeswitch is subconscious. There is no evidence of hesitation, repetition of previous words, untranslatable terms and the switches are not accompanied by any metalinguistic comment. The use of conjunctions such as "pero" (but) to connect a Spanish clause with an English clause, makes the switching even smoother. This, according to Poplack, proves that the codeswitch is skilful.

The second most frequent type of codeswitch was that of single lexical items, with a total of 16.2%; 7.2% for single nouns, 3.6% for single verbs, 1.8% for single adverbs and 1.8% for single adjectives. However, it was very clear from the data that for most instances, the motivation for the switch was not for lack of knowledge of the word in the L2, but was purely subconscious. Some examples are:

a/ "lo de Uruguay como que se va *fading away*" (the Uruguayan thing, it's as if it's *fading away*)

b/ "no quiero que parezca un *show off* " (I don't want to appear like a *show off*)

c/ "Eso es *exactly* lo que pasaba" (That's *exactly* what used to happened)

For all of the above instances there is a common equivalent that would be readily available to each of the speakers, so the switch cannot represent a lack of equivalence. The fact that there is no hesitation before the switch can serve as evidence that it happened subconsciously.

However, a type of switch that was consciously performed is the one used for names of subjects and institutions in Australia, which comprised 9.9% of the instances. This type of switch was used by the respondents who showed a reluctance to codeswitch and whose level of bilingualism was not as high as those who fitted in the above categories.

Some examples of this type of switch are:

a/ "Gracias a las clases de *Spanish as a Working Language*" (Thanks to the .....classes)

b/ "Cuando llegué acá yo no sabía qué hacer, había un *conversion course*, pero después lo sacaron..." (When I arrived here I didn't know what to do, there was a ..... but then they got rid of it...)

c/ "..pero el nivel en *TAFE* no es una cosa muy buena, el nivel en la universidad es mucho más difícil" (but the level of .... is not very good, the level of university is a lot harder)

d/ "...y de ahí me mandaron a *Ashcroft high school*, ahí terminé *fourth form*, año diez,....en 1982 saqué el *school certificate*. de aquí y el de España, dos veces por semana después de la *high school* iba por las tarde allí." (and then they sent me to .....there I finished..... year ten, in 1982 I got the .....from here and from Spain, twice a week after .... I would go there in the afternoon.)

In (d), the speaker translates one of the mixed items back into Spanish "fourth form, año diez" (year ten). This indicates that he was aware of the switch. "Cues at the immediate point of language mixing include hesitation, asides and translation or paraphrase." (Pfaff,1979:297). This type of switch was evident mainly in those who only switched at the lexical level. Some examples are:

a/ "...me he dado cuenta especialmente ahora que he empezado a hacer lingüística, es lo de los ah, ¿cómo se llama?, eh *catch words*, o no sé..." (I what I have noticed especially now since I started to study linguistics, is that about uh, what do you call it?, uh *catch words*, or I don't know)

b/ "...aprendiendo inglés en los centros esos de *intensive languages*?"
(learning English in those centres of *intensive languages*)

c/ "Son palabras que las uso normalmente en inglés, por ejemplo, *newsagency*, no tiendo a decir eso en español."(They are words that I normally use in English, for example *newsagency*, I don't tend to say that in Spanish).

The next more frequent type of codeswitch is extra sentential, the use of fillers. This type constitutes 10.8% of the total switches. Some examples of fillers are:

a/ "... para bien o para mal, anyhow."
(...for better or for worse...)

b/ "... mi identidad judía, whatever, es muy fuerte."
(....my Jewish identity.....is very strong)

c/ "...jamás voy a dejar de ser uruguaya, siempre lo voy a ser, you know? it's like my little thing."
(...I will never stop being Uruguayan, I'll always be that,....)

d/ "... si no sé una palabra en inglés no le meto una en español, I mean, I just don't do that, así que por qué..."
(...if I don't know a word in English I don't mix one in Spanish, ...)

e/ "...quizás por todo lo demás, you know, subconsciously, pienso que no..." (...maybe because of all the rest, ..., I don't think so...)

In the above examples, c - e show that the fillers "you know" or "I mean", trigger the codeswitch and the speaker continues to speak in English, even if for a very short time.

Switches at the intra clause level were apparent only in respondent number eight, the respondent who has been bilingual since birth. The percentage of this type of instances is 5.4%, which although not very significant in the context of the complete data, is

significant when considering that it was the behaviour of only one respondent. Some examples of this are:

"...y me acuerdo que *he was failing, he was failing English*, y viste que allá *you fail and you don't pass*, y me acuerdo que *he was failing and so his mum asked me, we used to have car pools* con ellos? *we used to go to the same school*, y me dice 'vos no podrás enseñarle' yo enseñarle! viste? pero *anyway*, así que un día lo traje a casa y le tenía que enseñar la hora, o sea, *past*, en este lado *to*, bastantes cosas, y un montón de veces fue a mi casa, y *in his final exam he got ninety per cent, I don't know if it was me or I mean I'd never, I don't even know how to teach*, pero qué sé yo, capaz que eso le dio *confidence, I don't know, but I was so proud of myself*."

"...and I remember that *he was failing, he was failing English*, and you know that there *you fail and you don't pass*, and I remember that *he was failing and so his mum asked me, we used to have car pools* with them? *we used to go to the same school*, and she says to me 'you couldn't teach him?' me teach him! you know? but *anyway*, so one day I took him home and I had to teach him the time, I mean, *past*, on this side *to*, a lot of things, and he went to my place many times, and *in his final exam he got ninety per cent, I don't know if it was me or I mean I'd never, I don't even know how to teach*, but I don't know, maybe that gave him confidence, *I don't know, but I was so proud of myself*."

It is clear from this segment that this respondent switches at the word, phrase, independent and dependent clause levels. It is also evident from the translation of the passage that the grammatical constraint and the morpheme constraint are strictly adhered to, in the sense that the translated text is perfectly readable and grammatical when expressed in a single code.

Table 2 below shows the instances of codeswitching by language and syntactic category

INTRA SENTENTIAL

Syntactic category	CS into English	CS into Spanish	% of total CS	Total Frequencies
Single noun	8	0	7.2 %	8
Single verb	4	0	3.6	4
Single adverb	2	0	1.8	2
Single adjective	2	0	1.8	2
Conjunction	1	0	O.9	1
Phrases (verbal, adverbial, prep, adj.)	2	1	2.7	3
Noun phrases	8	0	7.2	8
Names (Subjects, institutions)	11	0	9.9	11
Subordinate clauses	6	0	5.4	6
Independent clauses	36	2	32.43	38
Transfers	5	0	4.5	5

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EXTRA SENTENTIAL

Syntactic category	CS into English	CS into Spanish	%	Total Frequencies
Tags	2	0	2.7	2
Fillers	12	0	10.8	12
Idiomatic expressions	5	0	4.5	5
Sentence	2	0	2.7	2
Quotation	2	0	2.7	2
TOTAL	108	3	100	111

-Table 2-

7. Conclusion

This study has analysed the codeswitching behaviour of fifteen students of Spanish Interpreting and Translation and has attempted to link the results of such study to their attitude to codeswitching, their respective self reported identities and their level of bilingualism. The major findings have been the following. The majority are prejudiced against codeswitching and make a conscious effort to avoid it in their speech, in any context, an effort which becomes a burdensome responsibility. Such a negative attitude to codeswitching seems to partly stem from the rigidity of the Interpreting course they are doing, demonstrating that the students have been unable to make a distinction between when it is appropriate and when it is not appropriate to codeswitch.

While conceding a tendency to codeswitch, the majority view it as a deficiency in their bilingualism and as a natural negative point of the same. This bilingual dilemma materialises as conflict between their reported identity and their language competence.

The other interesting finding is that codeswitching cannot be said to be a sign of poor bilingualism. On the contrary, it was found that the more balanced the bilingualism of the respondent, the more frequent and complicated their codeswitching. The most balanced bilinguals tended to switch at all levels, lexical, phrase, clause and sentence, whereas the less balanced bilinguals tended to switch at word level only.

The findings of this study also corroborate those of other studies, in that it became apparant that extra-linguistic factors, such as situation, interlocutors and identity, influence the choice of code and codeswitching behaviour; that codeswitching occurs not only when there is a lack of equivalence in L2 in the knowledge of the speaker; that there are certain constraints that allow the codeswitching to occur in a grammatical fashion, and that the switching is rule governed and not random.

The relatively small data used in this study limits its scope, however, the study is useful as a basis for further research in the area.

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